

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 026738

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG-ZANZIBAR

FOL RPT LUSAKA 0338 ACTION SECSTATE 4 FEB QUOTE

S E C R E T LUSAKA 0338

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PASS LONDON, DAR ES SALAAM, ZANZIBAR FOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, ZA, PPDC

SUBJ: LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER FRTM PRESIDENT KAUNDA

1. THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT
CARTER WAS GIVEN TO ME BY AMBASSADOR KASANDA ON FRIDAY MORNING.

QUOTE:

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DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE READ YOUR MESSAGE OF JANUARY 26, 1977 WITH GREAT INTEREST
AND I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY PROFOUND APPRECIATION FOR THIS
FIRST AND HISTORIC MESSAGE YOU HAVE SENT TO ME. YOUR COMMUNICATION,
WHICH IS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO US, JUSTIFIES THE TREMENDOUS
CONFIDENCE YOU HAVE BUILT IN US IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS EVER
SINCE YOU STARTED EXPRESSING THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF YOUR POLICY
ON AFRICA. I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT WE WELCOME YOUR COMMITMENT
AND YOUR DEDICATION TO THE BUILDING OF PEACE AND PROGRESS FOR

ALL PEOPLE IN OUR CONTINENT. IN TURN, I CAN ASSURE YOU OF OUR COMMITMENT TO CO-OPERATE IN SUCH AN HONOURABLE AND WORTHWHILE ENTERPRISE. NOTHING MATTERS TO US MORE THAN PEACE, PEACE NOT MERELY THE ABSENCE OF WAR BUT THE EXISTENCE OF CONDITIONS IN WHICH MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL RACES CAN ENJOY LIFE IN ITS FULLNESS IN FREEDOM AND JUSTICE AND ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY, WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION.

QUOTE: I KNOW THAT YOU ARE FULLY BRIEFED ON THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CRISIS AND OUR STRUGGLE TO END RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND EXPLOITATION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. EVERYTHING WE HAVE DONE IS ON RECORD FOR ALL TO SEE. AT GREAT RISKS TO OURSELVES AND THE IMAGE OF OUR NATION IN THIS REGION, WE WENT TO ALL LENGTHS INCLUDING TALKING TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER. THIS WAS THE PRICE WE HAD TO PAY TO PROVE OUR COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SETTLING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES WITHOUT THE USE OF FORCE. ALL THESE EFFORTS FAILED. THIS IS IN ADDITION TO MANY ATTEMPTS BY BRITAIN TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT WITH IAN SMITH. NOW AN ANGOLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE FULLY BACKED BY ALL FRONTLINE STATES AND THE NATIONALISTS HAS ALSO BEEN FRUSTRATED BY IAN SMITH.

QUOTE: IT IS THE FAILURE OF ALL THESE ATTEMPTS WHICH HAS MADE THE NATIONALIST GUERRILLA WAR NOT ONLY NECESSARY BUT INEVITABLE. IT IS ALSO FOR THIS REASON THAT ALL THE FRONTLINE
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STATES HAVE COMMITTED THEMSELVES IN FULL TO BACK THE NATIONALISTS IN INTENSIFYING THE WAR IN ORDER TO PRESSURISE THE REBEL REGIME TO NEGOTIATE MEANINGFULLY. WE ARE NOT CONVINCED, AND RECENT EVENTS VINDICATE OUR STAND, THAT SMITH HAD ACCEPTED MAJORITY RULE. HAVING DEALT WITH HIM ALL THESE YEARS, WE UNDERSTAND HIM WELL ENOUGH TO KNOW WHEN HE DOES NOT ACCEPT A PROPOSAL AND WHEN HE WANTS TO BUY TIME. WE BELIEVE THAT HE DOES NOT ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE AND HE IS ENGAGED IN TACTICS DESIGNED TO BUY TIME. THIS HE MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO DO.

QUOTE: THIS WAS THE REASONING BEHIND THE DECISION OF THE LEADERS OF THE FRONTLINE STATES IN RECOGNISING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON JANUARY 9, 1977. RECENTLY, MARK CHONA, MY SPECIAL ASSISTANT, HAD LENGTHY AND USEFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH YOUR SECRETARY OF STATE AND YOUR NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR WHO WOULD HAVE GIVEN YOU OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION WHICH LED TO THIS CRUCIAL DECISION.

QUOTE: NOW WE ARE AT A POINT WHERE SMITH HAS REJECTED THE BRITISH PROPOSALS WHICH WE THOUGHT WERE A REASONABLE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAD, INDEED, COMMENDED THESE PROPOSALS TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION. WE BELIEVED THAT THE PROPOSALS COULD FORM A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER TO MODIFY CERTAIN POINTS WHICH DID NOT MEET PATRIOTIC FRONT DEMANDS. NOW EVEN THESE HAVE BEEN REJECTED BY IAN SMITH.

QUOTE: UNFORTUNATELY, THE REPORTED STATEMENTS OF THE BRITISH ENVOY AMBASSADOR IVOR RICHARD AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY, MR. CROSLAND CREATED PROBLEMS FOR US. ACCORDING TO THE REPORTS, AMBASSADOR RICHARD HAD, AFTER SMITH'S REJECTION OF THE PROPOSALS, DECLARED THAT THERE WAS NO BASIS FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FOLLOWING SMITH'S DECISION ANNOUNCED ON JANUARY 24, 1977. MR. CROSLAND, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS REPORTED TO HAVE DECLARED THAT THIS PHASE OF GENEVA WAS OVER. THESE STATEMENTS WERE MADE WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TOOK EXCEPTION TO
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THE BRITISH DECISION. THEY TOOK THE VIEW, WHICH WE SHARE, THAT ALL PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD HAVE BEEN CONSULTED OR AT LEAST INFORMED IN ADVANCE ABOUT THE DECISION NOT TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

QUOTE: I MET AMBASSADOR RICHARD ON JANUARY 31, AND HE DENIED HAVING MADE ANY STATEMENTS TO THIS EFFECT. HE ALSO DENIED THAT THE FOREIGN SECRETARY MADE THE ALLEGED STATEMENT. IT IS DIFFICULT FOR US TO ACCEPT THE DENIAL. THE DAMAGE HAS, HOWEVER, NOW BEEN DONE. WHAT SHOULD BE THE NEXT STEP? FOR OUR PART, SMITH HAS REJECTED THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEREFORE, WE HAVE DECLARED THAT WAR WILL CONTINUE. WE HAVE NO MORAL REASON TO STOP THE FIGHTING. IF SOUTH AFRICA WILL INTERVENE IN THE WAR, THEN THE DANGERS OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTION WILL CERTAINLY INCREASE. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE NATIONALISTS ARE FREE TO OBTAIN AID FROM ANY QUARTER AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN THEIR CLOSEST ALLIES EVER SINCE THE INCEPTION OF THE AFRICAN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

QUOTE: WE HAVE NO MORAL REASON TO STOP THE FLOW OF MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE NATIONALISTS. OUR MORAL STAND HAS BEEN ERRODED BY THE CONTINUOUS REJECTION OF THE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS BY SMITH. SO THE WAR OPTION IS THE ONLY CREDIBLE INSTRUMENT FOR BRINGING ABOUT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR OBJECTIVES.

QUOTE: HOWEVER, IF THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN THOUGHT THERE IS ANY MERIT IN RECALLING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, THIS WILL BE A MATTER ENTIRELY OPEN TO THEM. WE, HOWEVER, SEE PROBLEMS IN CONVINCING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO ATTEND SUCH TALKS YET NO

AGREEMENT CAN END THE WAR UNLESS IT IS REACHED WITH FULL PARTICIPATION AND ENDORSEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

QUOTE: YOU MIGHT, THEREFORE, CONSIDER THE TWO OPTIONS WHICH JUST ATTRACT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO GENEVA.
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QUOTE: FIRST, BRITAIN WITH THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WHOM BRITAIN IS NOW PRESIDENT, CAN INVITE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT OR WITH OTHER NATIONALISTS TO GENEVA CONFERENCE. THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN WOULD, DURING THAT TIME PRESSURISE IAN SMITH TO ACCEPT THE BRITISH/PATRIOTIC FRONT PROPOSALS AND TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE. THE PROBLEM OF THIS OPTION NATURALLY IS THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MAY NOW REJECT ANY CONFERENCE IN WHICH THE BISHOP AND REVEREND SITHOLE WILL BE PRESENT. I AM NOT SAYING THEY WILL, BUT THEY MAY. THIS IS THE NEW PROBLEM. THIS IS ALSO THE DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF ADJOURNING AND THEN POSTPONING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FROM THE 17TH JANUARY. AS YOU PROBABLY KNOW, WE HAD ADVISED THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD NOT BE POSTPONED BECAUSE OF THE RISK OF BREAKDOWN IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

QUOTE: THE SECOND OPTION INVOLVES AN IDEA PUT FORWARD TO ME IN AUGUST LAST YEAR BY THE AMERICAN OFFICIALS AT THAT TIME THE SCENARIO ON ZIMBABWE WAS A FOLLOWS: (A) IAN SMITH WOULD BE REMOVED FROM PREMIERSHIP AND ANOTHER WHITE LEADER WOULD TAKE HIS PLACE TO HEAD THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT; (B) THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT UNDER THE NEW LEADERSHIP WOULD ANNOUNCE THE ACCEPTANCE OF MAJORITY RULE AND WOULD IMMEDIATELY INVITE AFRICAN NATIONALISTS TO DISCUSS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE REST OF THE EVENTS WOULD THEN FOLLOW LEADING ON TO INDEPENDENCE.

QUOTE: IN THE PROGRAMME WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO US LATER BY DR. KISSINGER, SMITH'S LEADERSHIP WAS APPARENTLY FOUND TO BE A CRUCIAL FACTOR IN PREVENTING A WHITE EXODUS FROM RHODESIA. YET THE PRESENT DETERIORATING CONDITIONS WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO WHITE EXODUS. SMITH IS THE REAL CAUSE OF WHITE EXODUS.

QUOTE: I, THEREFORE, PROPOSE FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION THE REMOVAL OF IAN SMITH AS THE FIRST STEP ON THE ROAD TO ANOTHER GENEVA CONFERENCE. THE WHITES CAN BE LED BY ANOTHER WHITE DURING THE
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INTERIM PERIOD WHO WOULD NEGOTIATE MORE MEANINGFULLY AND CREDIBLY WITH THE NATIONALISTS IN GENEVA.

QUOTE: UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE NATIONALISTS MIGHT PROBABLY CONSIDER THAT THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED AND THEY CAN, THEREFORE, GO TO GENEVA CONFIDENT THAT NO ONE IS BUYING TIME OR TAKING THEM FOR A RIDE.

QUOTE: WHATEVER STEP IS TAKEN TOWARDS GENEVA, WE MUST NOW DEAL WITH FACTORS WHICH ARE THE BASIS OF SMITH'S STRENGTH. OIL KEEPS SMITH'S ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC AND WAR MACHINERY RUNNING. OIL COMPANIES, NAMELY SHELL-BP, CALTEX, MOBIL AND TOTAL MUST END THEIR SUPPLIES OF OIL TO THE SMITH REGIME. VORSTER MUST BE TOLD NOT TO STEP UP HIS ASSISTANCE TO SMITH'S WAR EFFORT BY SUPPLYING SMITH WITH OIL IN PLACE OF OIL COMPANIES.

SUCH A MEASURE WOULD CERTAINLY BRING SMITH'S WAR AND ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY TO A GRINDING HALT. THIS WOULD FORCE HIM TO ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE GENUINELY. BUT AS LONG AS OIL FLOWS IN DEFIANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS EMBARGO, SMITH WILL CONTINUE TO BE AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE AND WILL THUS MAKE THE ESCALATION OF THE WAR WITH ALL ITS CONSEQUENCES PNEVITABLE.

QUOTE: YOUR DECISION TO BACK THE REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT IS A MOST CRUCIAL ADDITON TO MEASURES WHICH WILL CONVINCE SMITH ABOUT AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO PEACE BASED ON MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE. WE CAN ONLY URGE SWIFT AND DECISIVE ACTION, FOR TIME, FOR ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVES BY PEACEFUL MEANS HAS, IN ESSENCE, RUN OUT.

QUOTE: THIS IS WHY THE WAR OPTION HAS BECOME THE ONLY CREDIBLE INSTRUMENT FOR ATTAINING MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE IN ZIMBABWE. UNDOUBTEDLY NONE OF THESE OPTIONS IS EASY. BUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF NOT REACHING AGREEMENT AT THE NEGOTIATION TABLE ARE PROBABLY MORE GHASTLY AND WILL HAVE INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS FAR BEYOND THE BORDERS OF OUR REGION.

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QUOTE: UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, AMERICA MUST DO EVERYTHING TO AVOID SUCH A CATASTROPHE. WE HAVE SHOWN OUR READINESS TO AVOID SUCH A CATASTROPHE.

QUOTE: I AM ALSO HOPING THAT YOU AND YOUR ADMINISTRATION WILL WORK FAST ON NAMIBIA. THE PROSPECTS ARE STILL GOOD BUT SPEED IS NECESSARY. DURING HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON, D.C., MARK CHONA, LEFT THE FULL LIST OF SWAPO'S CONDITIONS FOR TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. SWAPO LEADERS ARE EQUALLY DETERMINED TO CONTINUE AND INTENSIFY THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THEY DO NOT LACK SUPPORT IN THE WORLD. SO THEY ARE VERY CONFIDENT ABOUT THE FUTURE. WE HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT THE PRICE IN HUMAN LIFE WHICH THEIR VICTORY MAY ENTAIL. BUT HAVING BEEN INVOLVED IN A PROTRACTED STRUGGLE, THERE COMES A MOMENT IN THE LIFE OF A PEOPLE WHEN FREEDOM BECOMES A JEWEL WHICH IS PRICELESS.

QUOTE: YOU AMERICANS UNDERSTAND REVOLUTION BECAUSE YOU ARE A COUNTRY BORN OUT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. NO ONE NEEDS TO TEACH THE AMERICANS ABOUT A BLOODY STRUGGLE. NO ONE NEEDS TO TEACH THE AMERICANS ABOUT THE PRICELESSNESS OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. THIS IS WHY SOUTHERN AFRICA IS SUCH A MORAL CHALLENGE FOR YOUR ADMINISTRATION.

LQUOTE: I SINCERELY HOPE THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO UNDERSTAND US. WE MEAN WELL. WE VALUE PEACE. WE VALUE HUMAN LIFE AND WE CANNOT SUPPORT ITS DESTRUCTION WITHOUT CAUSE. BUT NOW THERE IS A CAUSE. WE BELIEVE IN THAT CAUSE. UNTIL IT IS ACCOMPLISHED, AND AS LONG AS THE PEACEFUL OPTION FAILS, WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO CONTINUE WITH THE LIBERATION WAR. I CAN ASSURE YOU NOTHING PAINS US MORE THAN MAKING A DECISION OF SUCH GRAVITY.

QUOTE: I CAN, THEREFORE, ONLY URGE YOU TO LOOK AT OUR RECORD
AGAIN TO SEE SIMPLY HOW FAR WE HAVE GONE IN PREVENTING
UNNECESSARY BLOODSHED AND IN FOSTERING THE SPIRIT OF NONRACIALISM
IN OUR OWN COUNTRY DESPITE THE GREAT STRESSES AND STRAINS WHICH
WAR ON OUR BORDERS HAS BROUGHT. THE HOUR FOR PEACEFUL ACTION
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IS ESSENTIALLY PAST, WHAT YOU ARE INVOLVED IN IS A SALVAGING
OPERATION WHICH REQUIRES REALISTIC AND FIRM ACTION IN HANDLING
THOSE WHO OBSTRUCT PEACEFUL CHANGE AND WHO THUS MAKE VIOLENT
CHANGE INEVITABLE.

QUOTE: I BELIEVE THAT AMERICA WILL HAVE TO DO A LOT MORE WORK
T AN BRITAIN. FOLLOWING IN BRITAIN'S RELUCTANT FOOTSTEPS HAS
LED TO DISASTER IN THE PAST. AMERICA MUST ASSUME LEADERSHIP
IN THIS AREA. IT IS COMPLETELY OUT OF BRITAIN'S CONTROL.

QUOTE: MR. PRESIDENT, THIS IS A LONG LETTER AND IT IS ONLY
INTENDED TO URGE YOU TO MOVE FAST AND POSITIVELY. YOU HAVE,
INDEED, PITCHED OUR EXPECTATIONS VERY HIGH AS WE HAVE REASON
TO BELIEVE THAT YOU WILL BE HELPFUL TO THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

QUOTE: GOD'S BLESSINGS

QUOTE: (SIGNED) K. K. KAUNDA, PRESIDENT OF THE
REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA. END QUOTE

2. TEXT BEING POUCHED. LOW

UNQUOTE VANCE

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